

39. **THE SPEECH**  
INTITLED THE  
**S P E E C H**  
ON THE LATE  
**Lord Russel**  
TO THE  
**S E E R I E S :**

TOGETHER,  
With the *PAPER* delivered by  
Him to Them, at the Place of Execution, on *May*  
*21. 1883.*

#### Fourth Grappling.

## L O N D O N ,

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## To the READER.

**I**T is better to Obey God, then Man] *says the Text.* [It is better to Obey the Devil then God] *says the Comment.* And are not those People now in a Happy State, d'ye think, that know not One Step of the Way to Heaven Themselves ; and have such Interpreters for their Guides ? This is the True form of Godliness that Denies the Power of it ; And This the Principle, that, wherever it takes Root, loosens the Foundations of Civil Government, and Obedience ; And makes way for the Erecting of a Kingdom of Darkness upon Those Ruines. There's a Great Deal in That same Old Adage ; [Where God has his Church, The Devil has his Chappel ; ] for Religion is as well the Pretence of the Worst of Men, as it is the Duty, and Busines of the Best. Where Satan cannot prevail for Idolatry, he'l content himself with Heresy, and Schism ; And with the dashing of One Altar against Another. Where he cannot Overthrow the very Ground of our Faith, he'l Compound for Liberty of Conscience ; And some Plausible ways of Disguising it. Next to the setting up of a False God, is the Begetting a False Opinion of the True One ; Which is almost an Equivalent ; Only the One's a Material ; And the Other's a Notional Idol : The One's the work of our Hands ; And the Other of our Imagination. At this rate, it is, that we Confound Realities, and Appearances ; Fancy, and Conscience.

This may look perhaps as if I were quite Running away, both from my Reader, and from my Busines : But I am, in truth, upon the very Point of my Subject. What was it that Ruin'd that Unhappy Lord, (Whose Case is the Argument of this Paper ; And whose Unhappy Fate, I Lament from my Soul) but the being Bigotted into This Princi-

## To the Reader.

ple? And what Kingdom, or Government, where it Obtains, is able to stand against it? If Lucifer himself were let loose, he would preach upon That Scripture of Mat. 10. 28. And pervert the Text. This Doctrine of Resistance in case of Religion, is the Source of all our Feares, and Jealousies, Seditions and Conspiracies; Men that are Drunk, will sleep themselves Sober again. We have Bedlams for Lunaticks. Gibbets, Pillories, Whipping-Posts, and Jayles for Common Criminals: But there's No Discipline, No Cure for Enthusiasts. Is Religion at Stake? Bring in [a Bill against the Duke of York to disable him from Inheriting the Imperial Crown.] Is Popery the Question? Come to a Resolution Immediately, [That if his Majesty shall come by any Violent Death, (No matter who kills him) it shall be reveng'd upon the Papists.] Is there a Popish Plott? 'Tis but the Bricoling of a True Protestant Association, that upon the Falfe Bound shall play upon the Government. And then we are to consider again, that This Proposition is not only an Incentive to a Rebellion, and a Justification of it; but it makes the Concealment of the Conspirators as much a Point of Conscience, as the Treason it self. And how Ridiculous then is the Pretence of Defending that by Force, which no Force can reach? I never heard of any man's Religion yet that was taken away upon the Pad.

Upon This Maxim is Grounded all that is Mischievous, or Dangerous, in the Subject of These Considerations; And I have done what I thought my Duty to Do in the Exposing of it. These Papers had come out sooner, but that I was Trick'd into a Delay: But Julian is in the bottom on't; And I'll forgive any man that stands up for his Author.

CONSIDERATIONS  
UPON A  
Printed Sheet,  
ENTITLED THE  
S P E E C H  
Of the L A T E  
Lord Russel  
To the S H E R I F F S , &c.

I Have not set Pen to Paper upon this Subject, without first consulting all the Points of Decency and Duty, which I thought might properly fall within the Limits of this Discourse: As the Honour of a Noble Family; the Quality and Misfortune of an Eminent Person, together with matter of common Respect to Truth, Justice, Christian Charity, Candor, and Good Manners: Having no other end in

in these considerations, then to do a Fair and Necessary Right to the Government, within that Compass; call it a Right to the Government, because there is not one sound Part in the whole Body of it, from Head to Foot; if this Paper may be Credited: And as the business has been Managed and Improved, [The Cry of Innocent Blood against Oppression and Injustice,] would have been a Title much more Suitable to the Air and Drift of it, than that which it now bears. It carries the Face indeed of the Testimony of a Dying Man: But yet if a Body considers either the Style, the Scope, the Declarative, or the Confessing Part of it, there's nothing less in't: Not so much as one Period, without a Starting-hole, where there lyes any stress upon the Truth, either of the Intention, or of the Fact in Question: Now for this Vein to run quite through it in a Constant Course of Reserve, Mystery and Disguise, there needs no more to Prove, that it was Designed for an Amusement: for Methods never come by Chance; so that the Artifice is not wholly to be Neglected; and yet I shall not lay more weight upon't than the Thing will bear.

The Two Points in Consideration are the Speech and the paper. Now some will have it, that though the Speech was certainly my Lord Russells, there may be some doubt yet concerning the paper that went along with it. And this Conjecture

ture they ground upon the *Ambiguities* that Occur, both in the *Title*, and in the *Speech* it Self, which they Reason upon, after this manner. The *Title*, they say, tells us barely of the *Delivery* of it by my Lord *Russel*: And then in the *Speech*, there is not One Syllable more, concerning the *Paper* so *Deliver'd* than These Numerical Words [ *Mr. Sheriff, I have set down in This Paper all that I think fit to leave behind me.* ] My Lord does not first *Read* This *Paper* to the *Sheriff*, and then *Own* it. My Lord does not say [ *Mr. Sheriff, The Contents of This Paper are True, in the whole, and in every part of it, So Help me God.* ] My Lord does not say, [ *Mr. Sheriff, I do here deliver this Paper to you upon my Death, as the Truth, and the Full Truth of my Case.* ] But my Lord says, [ *I have set down in This Paper.* ] which *Setting down* imports no more than the *simple writing* of it: And so goes forward [ *All that I think fit to leave behind me* ] which might have been as well said, in this *Case*, if the *Paper* had been an *Act of Parliament*, instead of the *Last Act of a Dying Man*. And what's the meaning again of [ *All that I think fit* ] in This Place? These Words by a *Scotch Figure*, may signifie, as the Reader pleases; either *Any Thing*, or just *Nothing at All*; But however at a venture, a *Man* may conclude that there is something *more* yet, which he does *Not think fit to set down*; And *That*, for ought any *Body*.

Body: knows, may be All that is worth setting down; Or (which is the same thing) All that the Reader will find missing in This Paper. And then, why [Leave behind me?](they say) unless in the Literal Sense, That I do not Carry it with me; for there's no Attestation, Annex'd to't; No Solemnity of Acknowledgment or Protestation to Accompany the Delivery of it; no Circumstance to make it a Memorial of any thing more than the Transferring of the Paper out of One hand into Another; inasmuch, that the matter lies at Fast or Loose, whether this Paper shall be Reputed my Lords Act or no.

My Answer is, that this Paper was written by my Lord; subscribed by my Lord; Deliver'd by my Lord; and that by these Visible Solemnities it became My Lords Act.

It was Manifestly My Lords Intention that it should be taken for His Act; And it is but common Justice to allow and to understand it so to be. It has been likewise Published and made use of by some of my Lords nearest Relations, as my Lords Act, and with Infinite Zeal for his Lordships advantage and Benefit. Now after all these Authoritative and Punctual Formalities of Proceeding, there is not any Man that has a Tenderness for the Memory of That unhappy Person, but would rather Entitle him to this Paper, (how ill contriv'd soever) charge than him, on the other hand, with double-dealing

a Printed-sheet, &c.

dealing and mental Reservations at his *Last Hour*; As if his *dying Thoughts* had been only taken up with Studying how to lead People into the *dark*; and to amuse the World with a *Riddle*, never to be *unfolded*, after the Closing of his Lordships Eyes, till the Day of *Judgment*. But let every Man take it which way he pleases, it comes, in my Opinion, to the same Issue at last; That is to say, Take the Speech and the Paper, **Together**; or take them **apart**, 'tis much at one.

[*God knows (says the Speech) how far I was always from Designs against the Kings Person, or of Altering the Government.*]

This Passage now according to the sincerity of *Popular Usage* and *Construction* is as much as to say, [*God knows it, I was ever against these ways;*] But then if a Man looks at it through a pair of *Reformation-Spectacles*, 'tis a *meer deceptio visus*; and there is nothing at all to be seen; for a body may be up to the *Ears* in a *Design*, and yet Cry out with a *safe Conscience* [*God knows how far I am against it.*] But there follows another Clause that seems to come closer a great deal, *i. e.*

[*In the Words of a Dying Man, I Profess I know of no Plot, either against the Kings Life, or the Government.*]

These Words, in *plain, honest English* ought to pass for *Current*, and as good as *Sterling* betwixt

B

Man

Man and Man ; but he that reads them with a Kirk-Comment, will put them to All Touches and Tests, if he be wise, before he Receives them. [I ~~Never knew of any Plot~~] would have been much Fuller and much Homer to the Indictment, than [I know of no Plot;] For the neck of it is now broken ; and it is no longer in Being. And then in the Restraining of that Disclaimer, to the Kings Life, or the Government ; There's a Salvo left yet for the Seizing of the Guards, and for the Imprisoning, Deposing, or doing any other Indignity to the King, short of his Life. And All This without any Change of Government too ; for the Monarchy is the Same still , though the Crown perhaps may be Translated from One Head to Another. Thus we see, Every Line's a Snare : But I can never believe, that my Lord spake These Words with the Intention of him that Penn'd them , but rather that Unhappily he took the Paper by Content , and without much Examining, either the Stamp, or the Mettle, pay'd it out again as he Receiv'd it. In One word, Somebod else Prepar'd the Poysen, Put it into my Lords hand for a Cordial, and his Lordship Deliver'd it over to the People : Not but that upon the main of my Lords Tryal, Sentence and Execution, as the Strictness of the Method was Absolutely Necessary, so the Proces/s was managed with all possible Respect and Justice.

We

We come now to the Paper it Self, which in several Places looks liker the *Character* of a Primitive Christian Expos'd to the Lyons in a Roman Theatre; or That of an *Unfortunate Heroe* in the Field, than the *Figure* of a Person under the double Calamity of such a Cause and such a Sentence.

[I reckon This as the Happiest Time of my Life, tho Others may look upon it as the saddest.]

Can any Man living that has *Flesh* and *Blood* about him, understand This *Hyperbole* according to the *Letter*, especially under the Circumstances of such *Mortal Mistakes* and *miserable Illusions*? What could a *Martyr* at the *Stake*, under a Guard of *Angels* have said Greater than This? And here's *The Arrow drawn to the Head* again.

[The Importunity of my Friends, and particularly of the best and dearest Wife in the World, prevailed with me to sign Petitions, and make an Address for my Life; To which I was very Averse; For (I thank God) though in all Respects I have lived One of the Happiest, and Contentedst Men of the World, (for now very near Fourtie Years) yet I am so willing to leave all, that it was not without Difficulty that I did any Thing for the Saving of my Life; that was Begging.]

How strangely has the Author of This Paragraph mistaken his *Proportions*! To draw the *Character* of a Seraphical, Resigning Christian from the Copy of a Stomackful, buffing Cavalier, and to talk of

the *Last Test* of a *Dying Mans Religion and Profession*, as if there were no more in't than a *vain Punctilio*, upon a point of *Honour* in a *Sword-man*. Is it become a *Shame* for a *Delinquent* to Acknowledg his *Fault*? For a *Condemn'd Person* to Pray for a *stop* to the *Execution of Justice*? For a *Subject* that by his own *Confession* has done *amiss*, to beg *Pardon* of his *Sovereign*? How long has it been a point of either *Bravery*, or *Conscience*, for a man to be so *Averse* to the *Saving of his Life*, as to oppose the *only Proper and possible* (nay the *Lawful and Honourable*) *means of preserving it*? A *Petition* in *This Case*, is so far, methinks, from *Needing*, either a *Secondary Motive* to the *Inducing* of it, or an *Excuse* for the *doing* of it, *That*, without being wanting to *Himself*, his *Family*, and his *Friends*, I cannot see how he could have *Declin'd* it. My *Lords Signing* of the *Whole*, has made him become *Answerable* for every *Part*: But these *High Flights* were Undoubtedly the *Strokes* of *Another Pen*, that took more *Care* to *Advance* and *Support* the *Credit* of a *Faction*, than to keep within the *Bounds* of *Sobriety* and *Decorum*, in respect of his *Lordships State and Condition*. There are several *Dashes* besides too, that seem to be *Influenc'd* by the *same Genius*; and *Written* and *Publish'd* with the *same Design*; and with no more *Regard* neither, to the *Case* of the *Person*, or to the *Pretence* of the *Paper*.

[I wish with all my Soul (says the Paper) All our Unhappy Differences were Removed ; and that All sincere Protestants would so far Consider the Danger of Popery as to lay aside their Heats, and Agree against the Common Enemy ; and that the Church-men would be less severe, and the Dissenters less scrupulous; for I think Bitterness and Persecution are at all times **Bad**, but much more, NOW.]

Tis true ; My Lords *Hand* makes This Clause my Lords *Act* again: But He that Penn'd it, thought of nothing less, upon the Drawing of it up, than my Lords *Bus'ness* : For what's a **publck Reformation to a private Confession**? Here's a Gentleman, Agonizing in *Extremis*, brought-in with an *Expedient* in his Mouth against Popery. What's **toleration, Comprehension, Association**, (for that's his *Proposal*) to a Man that's now come to his *last Miserere* ; and upon the *Critical and Final Discharge* of his Soul to *Almighty God*? Here's a *Christian* under the *Instant*, and the *Indispensable Obligation* of *Forgiving all Mankind*, brought in (with his *last Gasp* betwixt his Teeth) *Arraigning* both *Church* and *State*, with *Cruelty* and *Persecution*. And what's the *Severity* of the *Church-men* that He *Complains* of? And what's the *Persecution*; but the *Executing* of the *Laws* upon *Others*: And living in a *Dutiful Obedience* to them, *Themselves*? *Persecution* (he says) is ever **Bad**, but much more **NOW.**] What an *Emphatical*

phatical Note is it, that This Critical [N O W] should be pitched upon for the Season of Indulging the Dissenters ; which They have chosen out for the Season of taking Possession of the Government ? But the Humour is Carried on ; and there's a great deal more of the same Stuff still.

[For Popery, I look on it as an Idolatrous and bloody Religion ; and therefore thought my self bound [in my Station] to do All I could against it ; and by that, I foresaw I should Procure such Great Enemies to my self ; and so powerful Ones ; That I have been now for some time Expecting the worst ; and blessed be God, I fall by the Axe, and not by the Fiery Tryal.]

The First Period has in it, the very Style, as well as the Doctrine of the Old Covenant. There's the Doctrine of Resistance in't ; with an Allowance (nay and an Obligation) for every man to be Seditious [in his Station.] The Second Period MEANS, That my Lord Russel fell under the Revenge of the Duke of York for Promoting the Bill of Exclusion. This Clause had my Lords General Assent as well as the Rest ; but in Conscience and in Charity, I do firmly perswade my self, That it was gain'd by a Surprize, when the Disorder of His Lordships Thoughts, and the shortness of Time, perhaps would not bear much Deliberation ; For whereas the Death of This poor Gentleman is Invidionsly Charg'd upon

upon the Duke, for his Opposing Popery; the Duke Himself was to have been Murder'd (nay and the King too) by the Pretending Anti-Papal Party; and it was my Lords heavy Lot to Fall under the Fate of That Conspiracy. And the Bare Murder was not All neither; for Those that call themselves the True Protestants, were to have Done the horrid Fact: (And according to the Vote) to have reveng'd it upon the Papists. The Pen-man after This, makes the Unhappy Gentleman to Bless God, That he fell by the Axe not the Faggot; when yet at the same Time, so far was the Faction from dreading the King, the Duke and the Government, that Those very People that made the Greatest Noise with their Fears, Jealousies and Apprehensions, were themselves United in a Conspiracy to Blow up All, in one common Ruine. Now for the matter of Fore-sight and Expectation of Mischief; it is no wonder for Men that run desperate Courses to live in the Apprehension of Dangerous Effects.

[I did believe (says the Paper) and I Do still, That Popery is Breaking-in upon the Nation; and that Those who Advance it, will stop at nothing to carry on their Designs. I am heartily sorry, that so many Protestants give their Helping-Hand to it.]

Was there ever such a Reckoning cast up betwixt the Great God and a miserable Sinner, and not One Moment left to set things Right in, betwixt That, and his.

his Appearance at the last Tribunal ? Here's not so much as *One Syllable* all this while, to my *Lords* *Cafe*, but only *Clamours* for fear of *Popery* ; *Inve-  
ctives* against the *Pretended* *Bringers* of it *in* ; *Legal* *Protestants* turn'd over into the *Popish* *Calendar* ; and all this while, the **Persecuted Persons** are the **Aggressors**. God forgive the Man, whoever it was (*if he has not sinn'd unto Death*) that wrought upon my Lord to Own this *Enflaming* *Paper*. And I cannot but hope, in *Charity* yet, that betwixt the *Delivery* of it and the *Stroke*, his *Lordship* *Re-  
pent*ed of the *Temerity*, and found a *Place* for *Mercy*.

But to spell a little upon *These Words* [*I Did Believe, and I Do still, &c.*] He does not say, upon what *Grounds* ; He *Propounds* no *Remedy* ; *Offers* no *Proof* : We hear nothing by whom it is to be *brought-in*, or by *what means* : But it seems, there are both *Papists* and *Protestants* in the *Confederacy*. Why does he not tell us who they *are*, of *Both Sorts* ? Or if it be only a bare *Conjecture*, methinks the *King* and his *Council* should be able to see as far into *This Bus'ness* as the *Prevaricator* : Or let it be as it will, I challenge the *World* to shew any *One Colourable Reason* for the *Printing* of it, that's *Honest* : To give the *Adviser* his due, *This Paper* was never *Calculated* either for my *Lords* *Cause* or *Service*, any further than to make use

use of his *Name* as a *Vehicle*, to convey the *Spirits* of this *Venom* into all the *Corners* of his *Majesties* *Do-minions*. But he goes forward.

[*I hope God will preserve the Protestant Religion, and This Nation: Though I am afraid it will fall under very great Tryals, and very Sharp sufferings. And indeed the Impiety and Profaneness that abounds and appears so scandalously Barefaced every where, gives too just Reason to fear the worst things which can befall a People. I pray God prevent it, and give those who have shewed concern for the Publick good, and who have appeared Hearty for the True Interest of the Nation, and the Protestant Religion, Grace to live so, that they may not cast a Reproach on that which they endeavour to Advance.*]

God deliver me from a *Confissour*, at my last Hour, that when I have but one *Moment* left to make my *Peace* with *God* in, shall put me upon employing that very *Instant* in casting *Fire-Balls* into a *Nation*, to set *Three Kingdoms* in a *Flame*: And instead of *shifting* my own *Consci- nce*, to be *Raking* in the *Puddle* of the *Iniqui-ties* of my *Neighbours*. What's the *End* of these *Ter-rifying Alarums*, but to *Gall* and *Teize* the *People*, with-out any hope of *Remedy*, unless by flying to that *Dam-ned Principle* of *Conditional Obedience*, to *Embrue* my hands in the *Bloud* of my *Sovereign*? What's the *Eng- lish* of this same [*Publick-Good*] here; Appear-ing [*Hearty*] The [*True Interest of the Nation*] and the [*Protestant Religion?*] What is it, but the *Old Cause* in a *New dress*; And the *direct Encouragement* of a *Schism*, and *Sedition*, against the *Authority* both of *Church* and *State*? And then here's still the *never-failing Topique* at hand, of *Impiety* and *Prophaneness* with a *Characteristical Note* of the other *Party*; As men *Con-cerned* for the *Publick-Good*, *Hearty* for the *True*

Interest, and the Protestant Religion; under which Notion, the *Shammer* of this Paper upon my Lord, did beyond all controversy, *Intend the Conspirators*: For it does not only Answer his Ordinary Description of them; but he would have told us in *Plain Terms*, if he had meant otherwise, or at least he would have cast in as much *Schism* and *Rebellion* into the other Scale as would have kept the *Ballance Even*. Not but that the *Sedition* and *Prophaneness* are now (God be thanked for it) come to be *both of a side*. And here again,

[*What ever Apprehensions I had of Popery, and of my own severe and heavy share I was like to have under it, when it should prevail; I never had a thought of doing any thing against it Basely or Inhumanely; but what could well Con- fess with the Christian Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom: And thank God, I have Examined all my Actings in that matter with so great Care, that I can appeal to God Almighty, who knows my Heart, that I went on Syncerely, without being moved either by Passion, By-end, or Evil-Design.*]

We are still upon the *same Train of Uncertainties and Generals*. Why should *My Lord* have these *Apprehensions*, by reason of *His opposing Popery*? When the *King*, the *Church*, and the *Laws of the Land* are against Introducing the Religion of the *Church of Rome*, as much as *His Lordship*: But if the *Paper* means *One Popery*, and the *Law Another*; (As 'tis clear by the *Context* of it, that the *Church-Protestants* and the *Papists* are to be blown up into the *Air Together*) the *Pretext* of *Religion* is *Degenerated* into a *Point-blank Sedition*: And every man that Suffers for *Treason*, shall presently at this rate be made a *Martyr* for the *Reformation*. And again, will the *Composer* of this *Paper* have my *Lords Suffering* in this *Case*, to be an *Argument*

ment that **Popery prevails**; because his Lordship foresaw the *Hard Measure* he was likely to have, in Case it should prevail? Neither will the *Lawfulness* of opposing **Popery**, in any sort, *Excuse* the *Doing* of it by *Unlawful means*. There must be no *Seizing* of *Guards* in the Case; The *Fear* of a *False Religion* is no *Defence*, either before *God* or *Man*, for the *Violence* of an *Actual Rebellion*. How much more *Forcible* then is the *Condition* of **Our present Instance**; where the *very men* that pretend to *Fear Popery*, are so far from *Fearing it* **Indeed**, that it is one *Branch* of the *Conspiracy* to say they *Fear it*: A *Second*, to give it out, that the **Papists** are about to *Kill the King*; And at the same time, to *Resolve* to do it **Themselves**: And the last *Round* of the *Ladder*, is, by *Consent*, so soon as ever they have *Executed* the *Villany*, to make *Proclamation* that the **Papists** did it. But now we come to the *Deplorable Nicety* of my *Poor Lords Case*; which, in *Appearance*, seems to be well nigh the *Single Proposition*, wherein the *Confessour* and the *Penitent* agreed; And this was it, which cost both *Himself* and that *Noble Family* so *Dear*.

**Popery** was to be *Opposed* it seems, but not *Basely* or *Inhumanely*; The *Guards* were not to be *Massacred* or *Killed* in their *Beds*; But if the same thing in *Effect* might have been done *Bravely*, and *Sword in Hand*, I see nothing in this *Paragraph* to the *contrary*, but that in *substance* it might have been *Justifyed*; for **BASELY** and **INHUMANLY** are the *Two only Exceptions* that I find to the *doing* of it: And they do *Acitly Imply* a kind of *Approbation* of the *Thing*, Provided it might have been done in a way of *Reputative Generosity* and *Honour*; for here's no *Regard* either *Had* or so much as *Intimated* in *That Particular*, to the *Laws* either of *God* or of *Man*.

There follows indeed a kind of *Restriction* (by way of a *Salvo*) That the *Proceeding* ought to hold a [Conscience with the Christian Religion, and the Laws, and Liberties of this Kingdom.] And where are we then? If *Julian the First* and the *Second*; If *Apostates*, and the *Common Bretrayers* of *Kings, Masters and People*, shall be made the *Judges* of *That Christian Religion*: Or *Hunt* and *Ferguson*, the *Arbitrators* of our *Common Rights*? Oh how I curse the *First Minute* that ever gave *Admittance* to any of these *Mutinons* and *Sanguinary Levites*, any of these *Popular* or *Seditious Boutefus*, under the *Roof* of that *Honourable House*! *Hinc illa Lachrima!* for *That mistaken Principle* was the *Root* of all this *Evil*; And the *Main Incentive*, (I perswade my self) to the doing of *Many ill things* by the *Impulse* of *That Delusion*: Had not a *Man* better have a *Cloven Foot* in's *House*, then one of these *Cloven Tongues*? The *Devil, Barefac'd*, puts a *Man* to his *Prayers*; He *Summons* up his *Resolutions*, and *Implores* a *Powerful* and a *Merciful God* for his *Assistance*, witha *Horroure* all this while, for the *Character* and the *Company* of his *Seducer*: But in the *Other Case*, a *Man* *Abandons* himself to the *Impostor*; *Consults no other Oracle*, but takes his *Enemy* into his *Arms*, and *Opens* his *Hart* for the *Spirit of Errour* to *Enter* in, and take *Possession* of him, *Pins* his *Faith* upon the *Sleeve* of his *Guide*, and *Swallows* the *Ruine* both of *Body, Soul and Estate*, with *Greediness*. He takes the *Broad Way* for the *Narrow*, &c. *God Deliver* all *Honest Men* out of the *Clutches* of these *Parasitical* and *Rapacious Hypocrites*! The *Dictator* of this *Paper* says, that [*My Lord Examined all his Actions* :] And truly so much the *Worse*, if they were *Examined* by Applying them to *False Rules and Measures*: And then he *Vouches* for the *Sincerity* of my *Lords Heart*,

Heart, which *Sincerity* avails little too, if it be founded upon a *wrong Principle*: And no *Purgation* at all neither of his *Innocency*, in case of an *Erroneous Judgment*.

Now to Close this *Remarque*; the whole *Paragraph* is *Mystery*; and there may be *Wrapt* under it, what *Meaning* soever the *Reader* shall find *Reasonable* to *Impose* upon it: for a thing may be *Contrary* to the *Laws* both of *Heaven* and *Earth*; and yet in *His Sense* neither *Base* nor *Inhumane*. *Julian* and *Hunt*, make that which the *Law* calls *Rebellion*, to be *Consistent with our Laws, Liberties and Religion*: And then for the *Examining of his Actions*] My *Lords Monitor* knows that *Ravillac* did as much; and in his own *Private Thoughts*, *Approved* them too. *Our Regicides* here at *Home*, did the same thing, and yet their *Actions* never the *Better*, or the more *Warrantable* for having stood *That Tryal*. We'll come now to his *Reflexions upon the Bill of Exclusion*.

[I cannot but give some *Touch* about th: Bill of *Exclusion*, and shew the *Reasons* of my appearing in thst bus'ness, which in short is this: That I thought the Nation was in such danger of *Popery*, and that the *Expectation* of a *Popish Successor* (as I have said in *Parliament*) put the Kings Life lik wise in such danger, That I saw no way so effectual to secure Both, as such a Bill. As to the *Limitations*, which were proposed, if they were *sincere*ly offered, and had passed into a *Law*, the Duke then would have been *Excluded* from the *Power* of a King, and the *Government* quite altered, and little more than the *Name* of a King left. So I could not see either *Sin* or *Fault* in the One, when all people were willing to admit of t'other; but thought it better to have a King with his *Prerogative*, and the Nation easier and safer under him, than a King without it, which must have bred *Perpetual Jealousies* and a *Continual Struggle*.

All

*All this I say, only to justify my self, and [not to enflame Others, though I cannot but think, my Earnestness in That Matter has had no small Influence in my present Sufferings.]*

With Honour to my *Lords Reasons* for the *Bill*; the *Best* and the *Truest Reason* that ever I met with for't, was *This*; That the *Exclusion* of the *Duke* would certainly draw the *Crown* after it; and that the *Suppressing* of *Monarchy* and *Episcopacy* was the *Best Expedient*, that ever was heard of, for the *Preventing* of *Tyranny* and *Popery*; so that the *Disease* was expressly invented for the *sake* of the *Remedy*: In the *Parliament-Case*, the *Kings Life*, it seems, was in *danger* for the *Successors sake*: And in the *Plot-Case*, the *Successors Life* was in *danger*, for the *Kings sake*: There were *Limitations* offer'd (he says) but whether *SYN-CERELY* offer'd or not, he makes a *Question*: (for which his Majesty owes him a Thousand Thanks) but whether the *One* or the *Other*, they were however very heartily *Rejected*; and he gives *This Reason* for't. They would have left the *Duke* only the *Name* of a *King*, without the *Power*; But *my Lords Prompter* was *Reolv'd*, that the *Duke* should either have *All* or *None*; and that the *Heir* should be *quite struck off* rather than the *Crown Wait'd*. Now upon *This Consideration*, (and for the *saving* of the *Prerogative*, and for the *Ease* of the *People*,) *The Paper-Writer* *Absolves* *my Lord* from either *Sin* or *Fault*, in the *bus'ness* of the *Bill*; forgetting upon *set Purpose* on his *Lordships behalf*, That *my Lord* had *Promoted* the *Bill* before ever these *Limitations* were thought of. Touching the *Influence* that *my Lords Earnestness in That matter* might have upon his *After-Sufferings*; I shall easily Agree with the *Supposer* of it, That there might be something in't; for the *Project*

Project of *Excluding* the Duke, was a Limb of that *Design*, which afterwards grew up into a *Form'd Conspiracy*, and Unhappily brought This mistaken Lord to his *End*. But to impute any part of my Lords *Sufferings* to the *Malice* of a *vindictive Spirit*, for what he either said, or did, in *Parliament*, would lye open to so many *Disproofs* and *Contradictions*, that there is not place for any man in *sound Sense* so much as to *imagine* it. My Lord most Unfortunately fell into a *Cabal* of *Male-Contents*; frequentsed their *Meetings*; joyn'd with'em in their *Councils*. There was a *Conspiracy* Carry'd on, which, by the *Mercy* of God was Iasonably *Dected*: My Lord, with others, *Apprehended* upon it; brought to a *Fair Tryal*, the *Matter Legally Prov'd*: And his *Lordship Himself*, not able to Deny the *Substance* of the *Charge*. Upon This, he was found *Guilty*, *Sentenced* and put to *Death*. And what's *All This* to any *Court-Influence* of *Revenge*, for his *Lordships Earnestness* about the *Bill*? But we have taken up an opinion in these late *Times*, as if the putting of an *Indignity* upon *The Heir of the Crown* were e-nough to make a *Man Shot-free*, and *HARD*, as they say, And that the *25 Edw. 3.* could never *Touch* him after.

But as I was saying just now, The *Faction* had *Two Capital Designs* in *Contemplation*; the *One* was the *Destroying* of the *Duke* and the *King*: And the *Other* was the *Destroying* of the *King* and the *Duke*. The *Former* was to have been *Executed* by *Bill*; and the *Other* by *Gun-shot*. The *Passing* of the *Bill* had absolutely done the *Work*; but in a way of *Form*, and by *Votes* and *Ordinances*, which we have found to be every *jot* as *sure*, as *Protestant* *flayles* or *Blunderbulles*. For *One Disinherison* opens a *Gap* to *Another*. And when they have once got the *Trick* of *Putting* by a *Successor*, whom they do not *like*; 'tis Fifty to One, the *Humour* will take

take them of *liking no Successor at all*; and so by Degrees, there will follow a Transition from a *Dislike* of the Person to a *Dislike* of the Government: And the *Monarchy it self* will be found as Great a *Grievance*, as the *next Heir*. When they are once enter'd upon this *Train of Reformation*, there will be care taken that we shall never want *more work for the Tinker*; till the *New State-Menders* may come to have the *stopping of Those Holes* that they made *themselves*: All Councillors shall be *Papish*, all *Ministers and Officers*, the *Guards*, the *Militia*, and *All Persons whatsoever in any Station of Trust and Power*, they shall be *Papists or Popisbly-affected, every Man of 'em*; saving such only as shall stand the *Test of a Secret Committee*. Now by this time we are within *One Remove of a True Protestant Commonwealth*: There is *One Question* that I have put at least half a dozen times already, without Receiving so much as the least Pretence to an *Answer*: And I shall offer it once again to the Consideration of the *Exclusion-Men*, Let any Man shew me *One Argument*, that strikes upon the *Succession of the Duke*, which does not equally Operate upon the *King in Possession* too. For the *same Popery* that *unqualifies the Lawful Successor for the Inheritance of Sovereign Power*, does as well *Unqualify the present Occupant for the Exercise of it*: As it is an *Equal Sin*, in the sight of God, the *Destroying of a Child in the Womb*, or the *Squeezing of the Brains out when it comes into the World*.

Consider now again, that as the *King* was to be wounded through the *Duke*, so long as matters were to be Carried on with a Countenance of *Authority, Law and Conscience*; so the *Duke* was to be *NOW* wounded through the *King*, when they found themselves driven upon a *Forc'd Pat*, and to the making of an *Attempt by Violence*:

Violence: but still They were Both to be Destroyed, Both ways; only, *vice versa*; the Duke to go first in a Parliamentary way: And (as Hone said) the King to go first in an *Assassinating* way But what's All this still to the Case of a Dying Man? I shall proceed now.

[From the time of Chusing Sh. riffs, I Concluded the Heat in That Matter would produce somthing of This kind; and I am not much surprized to find it fall upon Me; and I wish what is done to Me, may put a Stop, and satiate some Peoples Revenge; and that no more innocent Blood be shed; for I must, and do still look upon MINE as SUCH; since I know I was guilty of no Treason; and therefore I would not Betray my Innocence by Flight, &c.]

It was well judg'd, that the City-Ryots would probably [produce somthing of this kind] that is to say, *Conspiracies and Resolutions of Tumult and Rebellion*: And the *Evil Genius at my Lords Elbow*, does well enough Observe that there was no great matter of *Surprise* in't; for my Lord that was *Embarqu'd in the same Vessel*, to take his Part in the *same Storm*. But how comes *Legal Justice* to be call'd [*some Peoples Revenge*?] Or why may not *All Criminals* whatsoever, that fall under the dint of the *Law*, Arraign the *Justice of the Nation*, upon the *same Terms*? It does no more hold, on the *One* side, that the *City-heats* should make my Lord *guilty*, than on the *Other*, that they should make him *innocent*; neither do *Those Distempers*, in any sort, fall within the Prospect of *This Question*: Beside, That *this way of Reasoning* inverts the very *Nature, and Tendency* of them: For they are here represented as a *subservient Medium* toward the Advancing of a *Popish Interest*, when the *Contrary* is as clear as *Day*: And that it was a *Republican* and a *Phanatical Spirit* that stir'd up, and *kindnated* All those *Broils*; and that they did it upon such

Grounds and Principles too, as shook the very Monarchy it self. But if my Lord drew any Ill Bodings to himself from Those Disorders, it was by a Prophetical Fore-sight of the Fatal Miscarriages of the Sedition that was then a Brewing: and of his own Unhappy share in the Misadventure. We have spoken already to the point of Revenge, and we shall speak further to his Lordships Innocence in the due Place; as to his [Averseness to the betraying of his Innocence by Flight,] either the Inference is not Good; or else, All Those that are Fleed are Guilty. The Paper says, that he was [Guilty of no Treason,] but the Judges were of One Opinion, and my Lords Council of Another.

[I know (says the Author of the Paper) I said but little at the Tryal, and I suppose it looks more like Innocence than Guilt.]

Can it be imagin'd, that my Lord did not Defend himself as well as he could? And it is the First Time perhaps, that ever saying little to an Accusation, was made an Argument of a Man's Innocence: But of this hereafter, and so I shall go forward.

[I pray God (says the Paper) lay not this [my Condemnation] to the Charge, neither of the Kings Counsel, nor Judges, nor Sheriffs, nor Fury; and for the Witnesses, I pity them, and wish them well; I shall not reckon up the Particulars, wherein they did me wrong, I had rather their own Consciences should do that; to which, and the Mercies of God I leave them.]

Here's a most scandalous Defamation thrown out against the Kings Counsel, the Judges, Sheriffs, Fury and Witnesses, all at a Cast; though the Manage was so Fair in All Respects, that the Justice and Patience of the Court was Acknowledged by the very Zelotes of the Party themselves: They could not but Confess, that the Try-

als

als were *Candid* and *Clear*; they were heard at *large*; the *Proofs* *indubitable*, and *seconded* by their *Own Confessions*. But I must *Observe* again, that this *Paper* makes them *Guilty*, only by a *Figure*, and *prays* for them without *charging* them. It *Prays* for the *Witnesses*, [wherein they did my *Lord* *wrong*;] but why does it not reckon up the *Particulars*: Nor is it said, that they *did* him any *Wrong* *at all*. The *Penman* will not charge my *Lords Conscience* with *Averring* any *thing* that is *False*; but he has *Colour'd* it so, as to make the *People* *Believe* he had *wrong done* him, and that will do as well. He leaves the *Particulars*, however, [to their *own Consciences* and *Gods Mercys*;] so that, in short, This *Paper* is only a *Scotch Mist* from one *End* to the *Other*. There's a bold *Insinuation* of *Injustice*; but not *One Syllable* in *Proof*, or so much as to *Colour* it.

But we're put the *Case* now that my *Lord* had *really suffer'd* All the *Wrong* he *Complains* of. 'Tis true, it was the *Part* of a *Generous Christian* to close his *Eyes* with *St. Stephens Prayer*; but then the *printing* of That *Prayer* stands in a *Direct Opposition* to the *seeming Piety* and *Resignation* of it; for it lays *Innocent Blood* to the *Charge* of the *Government*: And *Exposees* the *Administrators* of it to the *uttermost Rage* and *Fury* of the *Multitude*, as the *most Abominable Monsters* upon the *Face* of the *Earth*; and All this, without the least *Thought*, *Hope*, or *Possibility* of any *Other Benefit* by it, than the *Tearing* of All to *pieces*, and the *making* of This *Paper* to do the *work* of the *Conspiracy*. Can any body think that his *Lordship* would not have laid his *finger* upon the *wrong*, if he had *suffer'd* any? Or that if he could (as he says) have *reckon'd up* any *Particulars*, that he would not have *done* it? He says in another *Place*,

[I do freely forgive All the *World*, particularly those

concern'd in taking away my Life ; and I desire and Conjure my Friends to think of no Revenge.]

These Words are only the *same Prayer* with the *Former, turn'd into Sin* (as the Prophet David says) but manag'd *Another way* : And the *short English* of this *Ejaculation* is a *Prayer to Almighty God to forgive his Murderers* ; with an intent to cast the *Guilt of shedding Innocent Blood* now a *Second Time* upon the *Ministers of Justice* ? And what does the *Artificial Hypocrite* that *Penn'd this Paper*, but in the very *Act of Conjuring my Lords Friends to think of no Revenge*, Do all that is possible by This Printed Appeal, to draw on a publick Vengeance from the Irritated and Seditious Rabble. And once again now.

[I never pretended to a Great Readiness in Speaking, I wish those Gentlemen of the Law, who have it, would make more Conscience in the use of it, and not run Men down by Strains and Fetches, Impose on Ease and willing Furies to the Ruine of Innocent Men, for to kill by Forms and Subtleties of Law is the woris Sort of Murder: But I wish the Rage of hot Men and the Partiality of Furies may be stopped with my Blood, which I would offer up with so much the more JOY, if I thought I should be the last were to suffer in such a way.]

This is only a *Strain* and a *Fetch* (as the Paper says) for the running the same *Scandal* over again, with a little Varying the *Phrase*. Who are those *Unconscionable Gentlemen of the Law*? whom do they run down? What are the *Strains and Fetches*? Or where are the *Easy and willing Furies*? The *Ruin'd Innocents*? Or the *Murders* according to *Art*? The *Outrageous Men*, and the *Partial Furies*? The *People* are to understand this to be my *Lords Case*, though the *Author himself* has not the Face to make it so, either on the *One side*, or on the *Other*;

and

and then he has wrought the *Character too High*, in the Expression of my Lords Offering up his Blood [with the more Joy] instead of the less Trouble or Affliction; and Concludes with the laying of *Innocent Bloud* again to the Charge of the *Government*. Upon the whole matter, this is only more and more *Calumny*, and *Iniquity* added to *Iniquity*. Whoever suggested this *Dictate* to his Lordship, might have minded him of those very *Gown-men* and *Furys*, that he speaks of, within the Memory of Man: and of a *Time*, when People were *Destroy'd*, not only by *Forms* and *Subtleties* of *Law*, but by *meer Noise* and *Tumult*: and to the End, that nothing may be wanting to the filling up the *Measure of the Scandal*, the King Himself comes in for his share too, when he prays [that He may be [INDEED th. Defender of the Faith]] implying That he is only so as yet in *sheb and Tisle*. It may be another Question now, in what Creed we are to look for *That Faith*, which the Contriver of this Paper would have his Majesty to *Defend*: Or in what Part of Dr. Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, a body may be sure to find it.

*I have Liv'd (he says) and now Dye of the Reformed Religion; A true and sincere Protestant, and in the Communion of the Church of England, though I could never yet comply with, or rise up to all the Heights of many People.]*

That is to say, I am not of the Church of *Rome* in *General*, not a *Papist*, but a *Protestant*, and a *Church of England Protestant* too; Bating, the [Established by Law] Coll ge Himself went thus far, and yet no body knew what to make of him at last. We have a hundred and fifty several sorts of *English Protestants*, and consequently in *his Sense*, so many *Communions* of the *Church of England*: For *All the several Sects* have their *several Church's*, and

and when they are put to the Touch, Every Sect Denominates it self of the *Church of England*: So that instead of the Simplicity of a Declaration and Confession, we have not hitherto so much as One Line, that is not wrapt up in *Equivocation* and *Mystery*: but the Only way of Expounding his Intent in this Particular must be by a Collation of Parts; and Comparing (as we do *Scripture Difficulties*) One Text with Another. He Complains in One Place, of Bitterness and Persecution, and Charges the Church-men with Severity. He Reflects in Another Place upon [many Protestants that give a Helping Hand to Property,] Now it cannot be Imagin'd, that the Sham-Confessor (whoever he be) reckons my Lord, either among the Persecuting, or among the Popishly affected Protestants; So that there's no *Church of England* Communion left him, but that of the Dissenters. And what does he mean again, now, by the [Heights of many People?] The Standard of a Legal Conformity is neither Higher nor Lower, than the Established Rule and Measure: So that upon the Unriddling of this Clause, the wondrous Difficulty terminates in a very plain Resolution: i.e. That the Protestant hereby intended, is a Dissenting Member of the Non-Conforming Communion of the *Church of England*. Thus far we have had Nothing but Doubling and Shifting: But after a Diligent and a Careful Search for One Clear and Plain-Dealing Period or Two, that might in some Degree Atone for the Oraculous Elusions of the Rest; this is the Only Point-blank Assertion that I find in the whole Paper.

[I shall Aver, that what I said of my not hearing Colonel Rumsey deliver any Message from my Lord Shaftesbury, was TRUE, for I always Detested Lying, though never so much to my Advantage; And I hope none will be so Unjust as to think I would adventure on it, in These my last

last Words, for which I am so soon to give an Account to the Great God, the Searcher of Hearts and Judge of all Things.]

I take this to be the most Remarkable Passage in the Paper, being the Only Point that my Lord delivers upon his Death, to be a **Truth**, without power of *Revocation*; And it is done too, with a *Solemnity* as *Dreadful* as the Contemplation of *Divine Justice*, and a *Judgment to come*, can make it. All the Rest is *Loose* and *Dubious*, and may be taken *One way* as well as *Another*: But in this, the *Affirmation* is *Positive* and *Precise*, *i. e.* that [*What my Lord said of his not hearing Colonel Rumsey Deliver any Message from my Lord Shaftsbury, was True*] We'll take it for granted now, that my Lord did **Not** hear the *Delivery* of *That Message*: That is to say, a *Message* from the Earl of Shaftsbury, [*That it was High Time to come to some Resolution about the King*] It does not therefore follow, that because My Lord did **Not** hear the *Delivery* of the *Message*, he knew nothing therefore of the *Contents* of it? His Lordship heard the *Subject Matter* of the *Message* *Debated*; And he *Heard* the *Answer* that was *Resolved* upon in *Return* to that *Message*: Which was in Effect, [*That Mr. Trenchard was not Ready, and therefore they could not as yet go on.*] Nay, My Lord did not deny the *Hearing* of the *Answer*, but put the *Question* himself at his *Tryal*, [*Whether or no he Consented to that Answer.*] And *Colonel Rumsey* delivered upon his *Oath*, that he did both *Advise* about it, *Treat* and *Consent*; So that it is not the value of a *Single-Hair*, (if there were *Twenty Thousand Lives at Stake upon it*) whether my Lord *Heard* that *Message Delivered or Not*. What's the *Meaning* then of laying the *Stress* of his *Salvation* upon't? He *Purges* himself of no *Part* of his *Charge* by't.

by't; but rather by the *Frankness* of his *Protestation* in a matter of *Little or No Importance*, and without leaving himself any *Room* for an *Evasion*, he draws a *Suspicion* upon the *Candor* and *Clearness* of all the *rest*, for it looks *Odly* to see a man so *Wonderfully solemn*, and *Particular* in one *single Case*, where 'tis not a farthing matter whether it be *Cross* or *Pile*: And yet at the *same time* so *Dark* and *Doubtful* in *twenty other Instances*, where all that can be dear to a Man of *Integrity* and *Honour*, is concerned. But the *Paper it self* gives the *Reason* of this *Different way of Proceeding*, in saying that my Lord [*always detested Lying*:] Upon which consideration it has *Distinguished* betwixt things *True* and *False*, by the *Peremptory Strictness* of the *One*, and the *Ambiguities* and *Reservations* of the *Other*, which is the *only Key* that *Opens the Meaning* of this *Paper*. And there's another thing to be observed, which is, that *This very Truth* was designed as a means to lead the Reader into a *Mistake*, as if *My Lords not hearing the Delivery* of the *Message*, were sufficient in *Consequence*, to *Discharge* him of the *Guilt* and *Danger* of the *Consultation*. My Lords *Adviser* has shewed himself a great *Master* in the *Doctrine of Probabilities*, This *Paper* quite throughout. There's but *One plain Truth* in't, and yet as the matter is ordered, there is hardly *One Falsity* neither, but it runs altogether in *Appearance* and *Disguise*, like one of your *Turning Pictures* that shews you a *Beast* on the *One Hand*, and a *Man* on the *Other*. It was *Generally Noted*, that my Lord had very little to oppose in his own *Defence* at his *Tryal*; and his *Black Angel* has found out a *Shift* for *That* too.

[I was Advised not to Confess Matter of Fact plainly; since that must certainly have brought me within the *Guilt* of *Misplication*; and being thus Restrained from dealing *Frank-*

Frankly and Openly, I chose rather to say Little, then to depart from That Ingenuity, that, by the Grace of God, I had carry'd along with me in the former Parts of my Life: And so could Easter be silent, and leave the whole matter to the Conscience of the Jury, then to make the Last, and Solemnest Part of my Life so different from the Course of it, as the using Little Tricks, and Evasions must have been.]

I cannot bring the several Parts of this Clause to a Conscience One with Another. My Lord was Advis'd against Confessing PLAINLY, FRANCKLY, OPENLY. He Follow'd That Advice; And in so doing, Min'd the Matter, and Confess'd NOT PLAINLY, NOR FRANCKLY, NOR OPENLY. That is to say he Confess'd Mysteriously, and kept himself upon his Guard: which, how Prudent soever, was yet a Departure from the Scrupulous Dignity of his Lordships Figure, in This Paragraph; and falls within the Compas of the Little Tricks and Evasions which I find in the very same Period, Condemn'd. But where's the Hurt now, of a Man's Employing All the Honest Arts, and Methods, for the Defence of his Life that the Cause willt bear? As desiring to know the Pannel, for the purpose; Time to Consider of it; Liberty of Challenges; and the like. But to Descend now from This Elevated Resolution to the very matter of Fact; I dare appeal to the most Partial, or rather to the most Favourable Friend my Lord had in the world, whether he thinks that his Lordship Abated any thing of the Defence that he could or would otherwise have made, upon the reason here Alleg'd; of keeping up the Congruity of his Character, to the end that in his Life and in his Death, he might be all of a piece. I must take notice again, that it is a very Extraordinary way, for a Prisoner at the Barr to be silent, where he has any

thing to say for himself; And so to leave the whole matter to the Conscience of a Jury, when in Conscience they must Necessarily find him Guilty, if the proofs Reach him; and that he has nothing to say, to the Contrary. And then there's Another foul Blot too, in saying, that the [Confession of the Fact, PLAINLY,] must [CERTAINLY have brought my Lord within the Guilt of Misprision.] That same [CERTAINLY] has shew'd the World the very Bottom of the Busines; for what becomes of [The Words of a Dying Man] then, that my Lord knows of No Plot, either against the Kings Life, or the Government] when here's a Plain Confession of the Knowledge of a Conspiracy, and the Concealment of it? There can be no Dispute upon this Contradiction, but the Denial must of Necessity be either False, or Double. The One Pinches upon a Point of Honour; The Other looks only like a Trial of Skill: And so we shall content our selves to cast it into the Heap of his other Amphibologies. (I make use of a Hard Word for a very Ill Thing, because I would not have the Common People understand the meaning of it.) And it is upon This Condition, too, that the Reader shall be at liberty to take all his Other Reservations by the same Handle; for upon the Solution of This Difficulty, depends the very Issue of the Question. There Remains One Slip more yet, wherein the Author seems to have Over-shot himself. There's a Reproach fastened upon his Lordships Council, as if They had Train'd him into a Snare, by Misadvising him. 'Tis True, that the Paper does not say expressly, whether they were Profess'd Gownmen, or Particular Friends that gave the Advice: But yet for the Reputation of his Lordships Prudence, it must be understood of Lawyers; as the Only Competent Directors that my Lord could make use of, in such an Extremity. Who can Imagine, now, that any Lawyer, (though

(though never so little Skill'd in his Profession) could Advise my Lord upon Fair Instructions, and a Manifest Certainty of what would be Sworn against him, to Smother, or to Extenuate the matter of Fact; least (as the Paper Infinuates) it should be found Misprision of Treason? when Effectually, This Lawyer could have told my Lord his Doom beforehand: And that it would undoubtedly have been found, not only Misprision, but Treason it self. In which Condition; my Lords Council, would rather have advis'd him to have thrown himself upon the Kings mercy. And there is more then a Tacit Acknowledgment of my Lords Guilt, In several other Parts of this Paper: But I'll take This following passage in my way to the rest.

[As I never had any Design against the Kings Life, or the Life of any Man whatsoever; so I never was in any Contrivance of Altering the Government: What the Heats, Wickedness, Passions, and Vanities of Other Men have Occasioned, I ought not to be Answerable for; nor could I Repress them, though I now Suffer for them: But the Will of the Lord be done, into whose Hands I commend my Spirit, and trust that Thou, O most merciful Father, hast forgiven me all my Transgressions; the Sins of my Youth, and all the Errors of my past Life; and that Thou wilt not lay my secret Sins and Ignorances to my Charge, &c.]

I shall here Recommend one special Note to the Reader: Which is, That in Five several Places (i. e. Twice in the Speech, and Thrice afterwards) this Paper Restraints my Lords Endeavour to discharge himself from the Dint of the Indictment, to the express Hints, of the Kings Life, and Altering or Changing the Government. As for Example: [God knows how far I was always from Designs upon the Kings Person, or Altering the Government: In the Words of a Dying Man, I profess I know of no Plot, either against the Kings Life, or

the Government.] And then afterwards, [I never had any Design of Changing the Government, &c.] I would have suffer'd any thing rather then have consented to any Design to take away the King's Life.] And so again in the Clause last above-mention'd. The Hammering of This Point over and over, so often, was, Undoubtedly, to strike the Deeper Impression, and to create, in the short-fighted Multitude, a Stronger Persuasion of my Lords Innocence. But why in the **Same Words** still? And with so Cautious, and Particular a Limitation, to Those Two Articles; if it were not to Accommodate That Popular Cover to some Hidden Meaning? But the Fallacy that's Couch'd under [The King's Life] and [Altering the Government] is expos'd already. It is said here, That my Lord had no Design against the Life of any man whatsoever: 'Tis hard to imagine a War, and no body to be Kill'd in't: But there's a Salvo for That too; That the Individual Person was not thought of. Neither do I believe that my Lord ever Design'd to take away the Life of Dr. Hawkins, though he said in his Passion, that he hop'd to live to see him Flead and Hung up.] That which follows next, speaks my Lord Privy to a Great many Ill Things; And it is not enough to say, that he could not Repress them; For they were of such a Quality, that his Lordship was Bound, both by Oath, and Duty to Discover them; Or at the least, In Honour, and in Conscience, to have avoided a Conversation that carried on such Dangerous Designs.

And now to speak one word to that which passes for his Lordships last Prayer. We have his own Acknowledgment of a Misprision of Treason. And yet not one syllable upon that Subject, in his Parting Confession. But he that wrote this Paper is a Profess'd Enemy impulsive, to the Christianity of a Clear Confession.

I hope nobody (says the Paper) will imagine, that so mean a Thought could enter into me, as to go about to save my self by accusing others. The Part that some have acted lately of that kind, has not been such as to invite me to love Life at such a Rate.]

A Man shall not need to Guess twice, who was the Author of this Sentence; for 'tis written with the very Spirit of a *Carguelite* that makes *Treason*, a *Virtue*, and *Repentance* a *Mortal Sin*: And my Poor Lord, in the *Anguish* of his *Thought*, is left here to Answere for the *Lewdness* of *Another man*, who, (Notwithstanding the *Justness* of my Lords Sentence,) is *Incomparably the Greater Criminal*. If he ever was, or Pretended to be a *Minister* of the *Gospel*, (For there are *Julians in Black-Coats*, and more *Julians* then *One* too) what could be more *Luciferian*; then to turn *Penitence* into a *Scandal*; And to *Preach* it for a *Point of Religious Honour*, in a *Christian*, not to *Discover* his *Complices* in a *Rebellion*? Surely the Author of this Paper was afraid of being Discovered himself; And therefore *Inculcates* the *Principle*, and *Recommends* it. Is it such an *Indignity*, for a man to [*Save himself by Accusing Others*?] What is it then for a man rather to *Damn his Soul* by the *Perjurious Concealment* of a *Traytor*; then by *Discharging* his *Duty*, both to *God* and to *his Prince*, to lay down *This Life* in hope of a *Better*, through the *Merits* and *Intercession* of a most *Mercyful Saviour*? The *Pen-man's* [*Having* of *Himself*, by *Accusing Others*.] is only the *False Gloss* of a *Reprobated Seducer* upon the *Text*. And then the *Instance* of his *Reproach* upon the *Kings Witnesses*, in this *Matter*, is a *Farther Discovery* of the *Venom* of him that gave the *Dictate*. This is a *way chalk'd out*, not only for the *Encouragement*, but almost the *Canonizing* of *Conspirators*. Here is an *Acknowledgement* however, that my

my Lord Could have Accused Others, if he would. We shall come now to the Matter of Fact.

[As to the Conspiring to seize the Guards, which is the Crime for which I am Condemned, and which was made a Constructive Treason for taking away the Kings Life, to bring it within the Statute of Edw. 3. I shall give this true and Clear Account. I never was at Mr. Shepheard's with that Company but once, and there was no undertaking then of Securing, or seizing the Guards; nor none appointed to View, or Examine them; Some Discourse there was, of the Feasibleness of it; And several times by Accident, in General Discourse, elsewhere. I have heard it Mentioned as a thing might easily be done; but never Consented to as fit to be done, And I remember particularly, at my Lord Shaftsburys, there being some General Discourse of this Kind, I immediately flew out, and Exclaimed against it, And ask'd [If the thing succeeded what must be done next, but, Massacring the Guards, and killing them in Cold Blood?] which I look'd upon as so Detestable a thing, and so like a Popish Practice, that I could not but abhor it: And at the same time, the Duke of Monmouth took me by the Hand, and told me very kindly, My Lord, I see you and I are of a temper. Did you ever hear so horrid a thing? And I must needs do him that Justice, to Declare, that I never observed in him but an Abhorrence to All Base Things.]

My Lord was charg'd by the Indictment of High Treason, for Conspiring, Compassing, and Imagining the Death and Destruction of the King; And the Raising of a Rebellion within the Kingdom. Now this was a Consultation in Order to that end: And for that which is here call'd a Constructive Treason, It was much a Plainer Act of Treason then any thing in the Articles against my Lord Chief Justice Scroggs; And yet That pass'd for a very Current,

Current, House-of-Commons-Treason. The Paper says, that my Lord was but once at Mr. Shepheards with that Company : Mr. Shepheard swears it Twice, with the *same* Company : But that Slip of Memory shall go for Nothing. There was: [No Undertaking to seize the Guards,] it seems ; nor any [Appointment to View, or Examine them.] That's because it was not yet come to a Resolution : But here's no Denyal at all, of a Debate or Consultation toward it : The Exploit was found [Feisible, and several Discourses about it.] But said only to be in General, and by Accident ; Is it meant that they Mett by Accident, and so fell upon Discourse only by Accident ; And that This Particular of [Seizing the Guards] fell in only as an Accidental Discourse ? This way of Disguising the Truth is as Clear to any man that has Eyes in his head, as if it were a Plain Confession of it ; for if it were meant Good Faith, the Author would have strain'd himself for another Invocation of [the Great God, the Searcher of Hearts, and Judge of All Things,] to bear Witness to the Explicite Truth of the Case. But [it was never Consented to as fit to be done.] Now That fitness may referr to the Time ; the Means ; the Wayg, the Instruments. They had not yet Pitcht upon a Safe, and Effectual Way perhaps, for the doing of it : But there was [More, General Discourse now of the same Kind at my Lord Shaftsbury's] And This was a Terrible General Discourse, for it made my Lord immediately Fly out, and Exclaim against it. I wish the Paper had set forth what this General Discourse was ; And what the Other was too, that fell in by Accident ; And whether that General Discourse and This General Discourse, were not as good as all one : But in short ; Such General Discourse it was ; that it wanted but one step, of Massacring the Guards ; Or cutting their throats in their Beds ; which, the Paper says,

[MS.]

[My Lord Abhor'd it for, being so like a Popish Practice] A Presbyterian Practice would not have done a misneither in Th' Place, if a body had had the Murder of the Late King ; Montross ; The Arch-bishop of St. Andrews &c. in his thought. But shall any man at last be so Weak, as to swallow it, that [Did you ever hear so Horrid a Thing ?] was only an Exclamation upon a General and Accidental Discourse? All the Rest went down well enough, till it came to the Cut-Throat-part of it. And that was the Point that Startled them : The Doing of the Bus'ness, either in a Brave, Generous Way, Head to Head ; or with Cap in Hand ; And a Complement of Loyalty, and Respect, to Desire his Majesty, in These Dangerous Times, to sign a Demise of his Three Kingdoms, to the Use of the Council of Six ; Or to a Band of Associators, for the Security of his Sacred Person, and the Protestant Religion ; I do not find, (by any thing I see yet) that the Men of Honour (if the Paper-Writer might have had his Will) would have Bogg'd at such a way of Proceeding ; But the doing of the Thing Basely, was the Busness ; And the Scruple that was made, was upon a Point of Bravery, not Conscience. But to Continue the Story.

[As to my going to Mr. Shepheards, I went with an Intention to taste Sherry ; for he had promised me to Reserve for me the next very good Piece he met with, when I went out of Town ; and if he recollects, he may remember I askt him about it, and he went and fetcht a Bottle : But when I tasted it, I said 'twas Hot in the Mouth ; and desired that whenever he met with a Choice Piece, he would keep it for me which he Promised. I Enlarge the more upon This, because Sir George Jefferies Insinuated to the Jury, as if I had made a Story about going thither ; but I never said, [That was the Only Reason] And I will now Truly and Plainly add the rest.]

By

By this Paragraph, the Reader is to be held in hand, that my Lords BUSINESS to Mr. Shepbeards was to taste Sherry : And the Paper goes about to Refresh Mr. Shepheard's Memory, by such and such Tokens, the Word is [with an Intention to taste Sherry] which in common Speech, does fairly insinuate, as if the Tasting of Sherry had been the chief End of his going; Whereas supposing that to be in his Intention, it might be, nevertheless yet, the least part of his Bus'ness: And further, the Author of this Paper has not thought fit to give us any Sort of Light, what his Bus'ness was: Nay, Mr. Shepheard, on the other hand, *swears* that it was a Meeting by Appointement, and that there was nothing of the Sherry-Story in the Case. My Lord, however, made use of this Suggestion at his Tryal; and Sir George Jeffries Reflecting upon it to the Jury, this Paper undertakes the Excusing of One *shift* with Another: The Tasting of Sherry was One Reason, though not the only Reason. But we are now to Expect a True and Plain Account of the rest.

[I was the day before this Meeting, come to Town, for two or three days, as I had done, once or twice before; having a very Near and Dear Relation lying in a very Languishing and Desperate Condition: And the Duke of Monmouth came to me, and told me, he was extremely glad I was come to Town; for my Lord Shaftsbury and some Hot men would *undo* us all: How so, My Lord, said I? Why (answered he) they'll certainly do some Disorderly thing or other, if Great Care be not taken, and therefore for God's sake; Use your Endeavours with your Friends to prevent any thing of this kind. He told me, there would be company at Mr. Shepheads that night, and desired me to be at home in the Evening, and he would call me, which he did: And when I came into the Room, I saw Mr. Rumsey on

the Chimney, though he swears he came in after; and there were things said by some with much more Heat than Judgment, which I did sufficiently Disapprove, and yet for these Things I stand Condemned: But I thank God my Part was sincere and well meant: It is, I know, inferred from hence, and was pressed to me, that I was acquainted with those Heats and Ill Designs, and did not Discover them; but this is but Misprision of Treason, at most. So I dye Innocent of th. Crime I stand Condemned for, &c.]

Here's a short Account of my Lords coming twice or thrice to Town; and that he had a Dear Relation lying sick here: But whether he came upon a Visit, or upon the Bus'ness in Question, the Paper says Nothing. The Duke of Monmouth Complains to him, as above, of my Lord Shaftsbury and Other Hot Headed Men that would spoyl all; this Implyes my Lords being Antecedently privy to the matter in hand; for he takes the hint immediately. [How so my Lord?] (says he) without needing to Enquire either What Men, or what Bus'ness? The Answer was no more in Effect then This. There are a Company of mad Fellows, that will out-run the Constable, they will be shewing themselves too soon, and make some Bedlam Attempt or other, before we are ready for 'em, and then we are All ruin'd. So that it was not the Design it self, but (as This Paper Represents it) the rash and imprudent Manage, that was taken Check at; And now follows the Meeting at Mr. Shepheard's; which this Paper calls [Company] as if it were a chance Company, not a Meeting: But Mr. Shepheard speaks of it as a Set Company: And Mr. Rumsey was likewise appointed to meet there. My Lords Contradicting Mr. Rumsey in a Circumstance without any Exception to him upon the main, looks like a tacit Admittance of the rest of his Evidence. The Paper speaks further, of [things that were said by some, with

more

more Heat than Judgment: but neither says who spake them, nor what the things were; but 'tis Probable they were Treason, by my Lord's Disapproval of them: And it would have been well, if his Lordship had at least told the things, though without naming the Persons. It is Remarkable, that the words are [with much more HEAT than JUDGMENT] If it had been with much more Heat than Honesty; my Lords Disapproval would have Reflected upon the Cause; but with much more Heat than Judgment, strikes only upon the Indiscretion. The Paper thinks it hard, that My Lord should be Condemn'd for the things which he Disapproved, whereas my Lord was Condemn'd for Meeting, Consulting & Agreeing to Raise an Insurrection, &c. And it is the Law that Pronounces the Sentence: My Lords Part, it seems, was Sincere, and well meant. 'Tis a thousand pitties his Lordship was not better Enformed, for People under a Mistake may do the worst things in the world with Good Meaning. And then methinks [Heats and Ill Designs] are too soft a way of Expressing such Horrible Treasons. The Paper calls it Dying Innocent of the Crime my Lord was Condemn'd for, and but Misprision of Treason at the most, in Concealing what he was Privy to. Here is the Knowledge of Treason Implyed, in the Misprision of Treason Confessed; And there needs not much Concurrence with Traitors, to make a man Guilty of Treason. It is to be wish'd My Lord would have Declared, what sort of Treason it was that he was made Acquainted with; whether the Imprisoning or Deposing of the King: And by what Means and Instruments to be Executed. Once again now, and I have done.

[As for the Sentence of Death passed upon me, I can not but think it a very Hard One, for Nothing was sworn against me (whether true or false I will not now examine)]

but some Discourses about making some **Stirs**. And this is not Levying War against the King, which is Treason by the Statute of Edward the Third, and not the Consulting and Discouraging about it, which was all that was Witnessed against me. But by a strange Fetch, the Design of Seizing the Guards, was Constrained a Design of Killing the King ; and so I was in that Case.

And now I have Truly and Sincerely told what my part was in that ; which cannot be more then a Bare Misprision ; And yet I am Condemned as Guilty of a Design of Killing the King.

Here's an *Insinuation* of an *Unjust Sentence*, upon *False Evidence*, though this Paper Confesses as much, on my Lords Part, as was Sworn against him. The Paper calls it [*Nothing but some Discourses about making some Stirs*] and those Stirs are afterward Expounded, to be [*Levying War against the King*] And my Lord was Condemned for Consulting about those Stirs. These Consultations, the Court Pronounces to be *Treason* : My Lord Insists upon it, that they are only a Bare *Misprision* : And that the Design of Seizing the Guards is wrongfully Interpreted a *Design of Killing the King*. If this be so strange a Fetch, what was it in the House of Commons to make the Charge against my Lord Chief Justice Scroggs to be *Treason* ?

The *Law-Part* has been Learnedly, and Copiously clear'd already, in certain Reflexions upon This Paper, called the *Antidote against Poyson* : The *Overt Acts* towards the Accomplishing this *Treason*, were abundantly made out at the *Tryal* ; and Undoubtedly *That* which was *Good Law* in the Case of my Lord Stafford holds as *Good* in the Case of my Lord Russel : And Sir William Jones's *Opinion in this Point*, will weigh certainly against the *Opinion of the Author of this Paper*.

[Will any man deny (says Sir William Jones) that the Meeting

Meeting and Consulting of several men together about  
Killing the King, and changing the Government is an Ou-  
vert Act? Lord Staffords Tryal, p. 190.]

Here is enough said, to set forth the *Inconsistencies* of the *Speech Spoken*, and of the *Paper Delivered to the Sheriffs*: And the *Disagreements* of that *Paper* with it self in several *Peremptory Denials*, and *Point-Blank Confessions* of the same thing. That is to say, according to the *Popular Acceptation* of *Words Delivered with Simplicity and Candour*: But then in the *True Protestant Latitude* of *Savings and Reservations*; The *Connexion* seems to be perfectly *all of a piece*; And *One Line* serves to *Explain Another*; to the Readers *Infinite Satisfaction*, that there is *Nothing Intended* upon the *Whole*, but *Fallacy and Illusion*; bating only here and there a *Stricture*, where it *Cuts* upon the *Gov. rn-  
ment*. In few words; It is a *Reproach* in the form of a *Vindication*: the *Panegyrique* of a *Pedant*, instead of the *Confession* of a *Penitent*. The *Last Prayer* and *Ago-  
nies* of a *Dying Christian*, *Dissolved* into a *Floud of Ca-  
lumnie and Bitterness* against the *Church and State*; and nothing but the *Name*, to Entitle it to the thing it *Pretends* to be: After so *Severe and Needful* a *Reflection* upon this *Vagabond Paper*, for it fills *All Mouths and Places*, I reckon it a *Duty* to Accompany my *Zeal for the Pub-  
lick*, in this *Particular*, with all Possible *Justice and Re-  
spect* to the *Memory of the Dead*. The *Unhappy Circum-  
stances* of his *Deplorable Fate* duly *Considered*.

That my Lords Charge was *Proved*, and his Sentence according to *Law*, his Lordship hath acknowledged under his own Hand (whatsoever this *Ill-natured Pa-  
per* may Pretend to the *Contrary*.) In one *P. tition* to his Majesty, My Lord does [Solemnly Protest upon the *Word* of a *Dying Man*, that he never had any *Intention or Thought* of

of doing hurt to his Majesties Sacred Person, however if Interpretation of Law 'tis imputed to him, And by his Majesty shbould be pleased to Execute the Rigour of the Law upon him; he hoped that God would Enable him, &c.] In a second Petition, His Lordship [Humbly and sorrowfully Confessing his having been Present at those Meetings, which he is Convinced are Unlawful, and justly Provoking to his Majesty, But being Betrayed by Ignorance and Inadvertence, he did not Decline them as he ought to have done, &c.] I have the Charity to Believe now, that really according to the Purport of these Petitions. His Lordships Great Misfortune was rather an Error of Principle, then a Factionsness of Malice: And it is no wonder, if he were somewhat deeper Dyed then Ordinary, that had (but too frequently) most desperate Seducers at his Elbow. What was that Treasonous and Atheistical Libel of [Julian the Apostate] but the very Scheme of this Conspiracy, and Calculated for the Murder of the King, and the Dissolution of the State? And it was the same Poysonous Position that brought this Unhappy Lord to his Ruine.

As to this Pernicious Paper, I make no question but my Lord Signed it, and that he made it his Own, by so Doing: But it holds so little Congruity with the State and Exigence of his Lordships Case, that I am perswaded (under his Anxious Circumstances) he would have Signed a Blank upon the same Terms, if the same Person had Presented it: For there is not one Syllable in't that Avails him to any purpose Imaginable: It Pretends to Truth and Plainness; and yet scarce six Lines in't without a Riddle. It pretends to Discharge my Lord of the whole Indictment: And yet in several Places, either Intricates, or Confesses it. It pretends to Deliver the whole Truth of the Matter, and yet leaves out the Meetings

ings at his Own and Mr. Hamdens House, where the great Pinch of the Charge lay. Nay the Faction had proceeded so far to the Captivating of this Honourable Persons Judgment, that Mr. Montagues Letter to the Lord Treasurer, bearing date Jan. 18. 1678. St. N. that was Read in the Houle of Commons, takes Notice how much the Court of France depended upon him, for the Crossing (as he calls it) of the Court-Measures. [Mr. Ruvigny's Instructions are by the Means of Will. Russel and other Discontented People to give a Great deal of Mony, and cross all your Measures at Court.] But to come more particularly now to the miserable Principle that led him to his Destruction.

Upon the Munday after my Lords Condemnation, the Reverend Dean of Canterbury, Dr. Tillotson, gave his Lordship a pious and Friendly Visit: Expressing the Extreme Affliction as well as Compassion that he had for his present Condition: And not without Great Admirati-  
on at my Lords being Engaged in a Misfortune of that Quality: But after a little Discourse upon the Subject, the Dr. was much more troubled, to find that my Lord was not only Embarqu'd in that Pernicious and wicked Design, but Poss'd with the Principle of his Chaplains [Julian the Apostat,] that Resistance was Lawful in the Case of Religion, Liberties and Properties being Invaded: where-  
upon the Dr. Applied himself by Argument and Coun-  
sel to the setting of his Lordship right in that Particu-  
lar, with all the Freedom, Tendern ss and Respect Imagina-  
ble: And not without Flattering himself at last, that he had gain'd his point upon my Lords Judgment, who promis'd the Dr. at parting, to bethink himself seriously of what he had said.

The next day Dr. Burnes tells the Dean, that his Dis-  
course had wrought a very good Effect upon my Lord.  
and

and that he was now Resolved to do All that might become a man under his Circumstances, and to Discharge his Conscience both towards God and Man. Hereupon the *Dean* applied himself forthwith to a Person of Great Honour, with this Account of his Success, desiring that the matter might be Represented to his *Majesty*, which was done accordingly, (and the best Office, which in such a Case the *Dr.* could render to his *Lordship*.)

Upon *Wednesday*, the *Dean* gave my *Lord* another Visit, when taking for granted, that his *Lordship* continued in his Late Resolution, he entertain'd him only with Preparatory Discourses toward the fitting of him for a better Life.

Upon *Friday Morning*, the *Dean* Administred to my *Lord* the *Holy Sacrament*, having previously Receiv'd such Satisfaction from him, as the Occasion and the Duty Requir'd. But afterwards, *Mr. Dean* finding him wavering, went his way: And about five or six in the Evening brought him a *Letter*, which was excellently well Accommodated and very pertinently Applied to the point in Question. The *Dean* Deliver'd the *Letter* to my *Lord* and Discours'd at large upon it, Earnestly beseeching him to Bethink himself, how much it concern'd him not to leave the World under so dangerous a Mistake, but my *Lord* seemed much colder now, than before; the *Dean* however pressing him to Enter into a strict and severe Examination of himself, and so he departed, leaving the *Letter* in his *Lordship's* hand.

The next Morning (being the Day of his *Execution*) the *Dean* waited upon my *Lord* again, when he found him yet cooler, and utterly Declining any Occasion of farther Discourse upon the Old Matter. Upon this, the *Dr. D* sifited, and Attended him afterwards, and *Pray'd* with him on the *Scaffold*: Discharging himself, from first

to last in All the Parts of a *Churchman*, and of a *Friend*. A True Copy both of the Letter, and of the Prayer hereafter follows,

July 20. 1683.

My Lord,

**I** Was heartily glad to see your Lordship this Morning in that calm and devout temper at Receiving the Sacrament, but Peace of mind unless it be well-grounded will avail little: And because transient Discourse many times hath little effect for want of time to weigh and consider it, & therefore in tender compassion of your Lordships Case, and from all the good Will that one man can bear to another, I do humbly offer to your Lordships deliberate thoughts these following Considerations concerning the Points of Resistance, if our Religion and Rights should be invaded, as your Lordship puts the Case, concerning which I understood by Dr. Burnet, that your Lordship had once received Satisfaction, and am sorry to find a change.

First, That the Christian Religion doth plainly forbid the Resistance of Authority.

Secondly, That though our Religion be Established by Law, (which your Lordship urges as a difference between our Case, and that of the Primitive Christians) yet in the same Law, which Establishes our Religion it is declared, That it is not Lawful upon any pretence whatsoever to take up Arms, &c. Besides, That there is a particular Law declaring the Power of the Militia to be solely in the King. And this ties the hands of Subjects, though the Law of Nature and the General Rules of Scripture had left us at liberty; which I believe they do not, because the Government and Peace of Humane Society could not well subsist upon these Terms.

Thirdly, Your Lordships Opinion is contrary to the declared Doctrine of all Protestant Churches: and though some particular Persons have taught otherwise, yet they have been

G contradicted

contradicted herein and condemned for it by the Generality of Protestants: And I beg of your Lordship to consider how it will agree with an avowed asserting of the Protestant Religion, to go contrary to the General Doctrine of the Protestants: My End in this is to convince Your Lordship, that You are in a very Great and Dangerous Mistake, and being so convinced, that which before was a Sin of Ignorance, will appear of a much more heinous Nature, as in Truth it is, and call for a very particular and deep Repentance; which if Your Lordship sincerely exercise upon the sight of your Error, by a Penitent Acknowledgment of it to God and Men, You will not only obtain Forgiveness of God, but prevent a mighty Scandal to the Reformed Religion I am very loath to give Your Lordship any disquiet in the Distress You are in, which I commiserate from my heart, but am much more concerned, that You do not leave the *World* in a delusion and false Peace, to the hindrance of Your Eternal Happiness. I heartily pray for You, and beseech Your Lordship to believe that I am with the greatest Syncerity and Compassion in the *World*,

My Lord,

Your Lordships most Faithful and Afflicted Servant,

John Tillotson.

Dr. Tillotson's Prayer upon the Scaffold with  
the Late LORD R U S S E L.

**O** Almighty and Merciful God, with whom alone live the Spirits of Just Men made perfect, after they are delivered from these earthly Prisons, we humbly commend the Soul of this our dear Brother into thy hands, as into the hands of a Faithful Creator, and most merciful Saviour; humbly beseeching thee that it may be precious in thy sight, wash it, O Lord, from all it's guilt.

in the blood of the immaculate Lamb that was slain to take away the Sins of the World; That whatsoever Defilements it may have Contracted in the midſt of this wicked World, by the lusts of the flesh, or the wiles of Satan, being purged and done away, by a sincere and unfeigned Repentance, through thy Infinite Mercy and Goodness in our Lord Jesus Christ, it may be presented pure and holy, and without spot, before thee; O Lord we humbly beseech thee to ſupport thy Servant and ſtand by him in this last and great Contest, deliver him from the pains of Eternal Death, and ſave him, O Lord, for thy Mercies ſake, and grant that all we who ſurvive, by this, and other Instances of thy Providence, may learn our Duty to God and the King, and that by this and other like Spectacles of our Mortality, we may ſee how frail and uncertain our Condition is in this World, that it is all but vanity, and teach us so to number our days, that we may ſeriously apply our hearts to that ho-ly and heavenly Wisdom while we live, which may bring us to Life Everlasting through Jesus Christ our Lord, in whose holy Name and Words we conclude our Prayers.

Our Father, &c.

¶ 22

Having

Having done this Right to the Town by an Unbiased  
Report of the Matter of Fact; And this further Right  
to the Reverend Dean, to Publish the Right that he hath  
done to Himself in this Affair. I shall Super-add Now  
Next, that he had nothing to do in the Paper that has  
made all this Noise; but to Condemn so much as he  
Hear'd of it. And in Truth it was Obscur'd, that while  
my Lord and the Dean were together, they had Written  
Pen, Ink, not Paper. Now though 'tis True again,  
that when my Lord, and Doctor Burnet were together,  
there was Pen, Ink, and Paper call'd for; It Concludes  
nothing yet as to the Writing of this Paper. It is said  
indeed, that upon Captain Richardson's speaking to Dr.  
Burnet about my Lords making a Speech, he was an-  
swered by the Doctor, that My Lord only intended to  
speake a few words upon the Scaffold. And that when he  
had to say else, He would leave it a Paper he inten-  
ded to deliver to the Sheriff's.

There is more then enough said in Reflections upon  
this Scandalous Paper; that takes so much pains to pos-  
tells the World that this Unhappy Execution was a Mu-  
rder. There was, Effectually, a Murder in the Case.  
It was in the Law an Act of Justice; But it was in Fact  
that Person and Unfortunate Gentleman with that Sedi-  
tious Master that brought him to the Block, and that  
afterwards Encouraged him to persist in it. It was in  
him, I say, the Issue, and the most Treacherous of  
Murders: And I look upon Julian, with a Respect to  
the Conspiracy only as the Rule to the Crampul, the  
One Directs the Rebellion; and the Other Punishes.

§. 1. 1.

§. The End.



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